FROM LOUISIANA.

BECESSION EVER UNDEMOCRATIC. MEXICO NOT OPEN TO SLAVERY - MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

New-ORLEANS, March 25, 1861. Our revolutionists cannot be charged with say lack of frankness. Now and then they seedly deny their utter contempt for the popular will which they have overridden; but in the plan they not only admit it, but deemd and glory in it. Thus, The Delta, lamenting that the Brate out of the Union, predicts, approvingly, that "some Cromwellian influence" will yet disperse the Convention, and place the Old Domin-ion in the Secession ranks. And De Bow's Resiese, which makes high pretensions to philosophy and political economy, in its issue for the cursent month indulges in the following glittering generalities:

"All Government begins with usurpation and is nationed by force. Nature puts the ruling elements permost, and the masses below and subject to those semants. Less than this is not a government. The total to govern resides with a very small minority; and the duty to obey is inherent in the great mass of eakind."

The italies are not mine, but those of the Repiece. The extract reveals the animus of the revolutionary leaders-not merely hinted at in their secret conclaves, but openly avowed to the world their theory of Government. It illustrates the intense hostility which I hear frequently expressed by them in private conversation to the demoratic principle—the right of the majority to rule.

The idea that a laboring man, with rough hands

"greasy mechanic," as Cleopatra hath it,

the does not own a single "nigger," should wield as much power at the ballot-box as a bigh-toned" gentleman in broadcloth, who was born to govern, is utterly repugnant to their sense of the fitness of things. It would be a pity bave these philosophers disturbed in their in resting governmental experiment by any outside aftuence. Every day strengthens my conviction that their own people will take care of them some fine election morning.

Here is another of their journalistic suggeshone, which is decidedly funny. The Crescent still one of their accredited organs-discusses to day the propriety of admitting the Free States into the Southern Confederacy, "when they find out, as they soon will, that they cannot get along by themselves." The Crescent is confident that they will be begging for admission ere long; but Sough it pities them deeply, they cannot be permitted to enter the Southern Republic. On that coint it is inexorable, and will let no compunc-I know all this sounds vastly like a joke; but The Crescent is perfectly serious about it.

And here is a mild and humane suggestio from one of our sister States:

** The Oxford (Miss.) Intelligencer protests against
Pane see entering the Southern Confederacy unless
the will produce the scalps of Schator Johnson and
Representative Etheridge as an evidence of her sim-

That will de to close the illustrations of the spirit of the revolutionary organs in the South-Yest, for to-day.

Your suggestion that the Confederates are therishing dreams of territorial expansion is true. I frequently hear projects alluded to for the absorption of Central America and Mexico. of their relations with the United States peacefully settled to-day, there would be fillibus-tering parties on the Isthmus and in Mexico within three months. But here is a fatal objection to the extension of Slavery in that direction which they quite overlook. African Slavery cansee fourish or even exist permanently near a Mex-teen population. The Mexicans will associate freely with the negroes, intermarry with them, and shield and aid them in running away. Western Texas affords a good example of this. The whole Rio Grande valley, on the Texan side, is ettled by Mexicans, and Slavery does not exist there as an institution. A friend who has spent se years in New-Mexico assures me that the same rule holds good there, and that that is the main reason why Slavery has obtained no general foothold in that Territory, after stringent legal protection for fourteen years. Slavery cancountry without first exterminating or completely subjugating the natives.

The impetus which the political excitements here given to military movements of all kinds continues to be apparent here. Our volunfeer companies are unusually active. Daily, men and boys in uniform may be seen on all the thoroughfares; and every night, to a late hour, our care are saluted by the spirit-stirring drum and the ear-piercing fife, the iron tramp of horses, he march of footmen, and the commands of Attention!" and "Front face!" as the companies are drilled on the principal streets. I noseed one of the sons of Mars last night, with his drappings andly soiled, lying upon a door step hear the corner of St. Charles and Poydras treets, in a state of the most screen and unconscious intoxication. There is quite a crowd every morning around the Canal-street entrance to the Custom-House, where volunteers for the Confedcrate army are being enrolled. Those who enlist are mainly Irish. Pat is, of course, on hand at the least prospect of a shindy.

The telegraph advises us of a snow-storm at Buffalo, sufficient to obstruct the railway tracks. We, in the mean time, are luxuristing on green peas, early plums, and strawberries, and the air is fragrant with daffodils, violets, and roses, the buds of the sweet olive, and the blossoms of the prange. I have just returned from a ride in the swamp back of town-that great cess-pool of this metropolis, which generates, with the recurrence of Summer, "the pestilence that walketh in carkness." Just now, it presents a strange appearance. The stagnant pools of black and green water are in harmony with the tall, ghastly dead trees, whose branches are hung with long, pendant fleeces of gray moss, giving them somewhat the effect of Gothic architecture. This moss is an article of utility in the manufacture of lounges and mattresses; but in its native state, hanging from the live-oaks and cypresses, is an excellent Mustration of the fantastic term which the Choctaw Indians apply to leaves-"tree hair." These features—the moss and the water—contrast strikingly with the rich, bright foliage of the deciduous trees, just growing into their Summer life. The genial, balmy air renders physical existence delicious, and diffuses a luxurious languor through

lovingly, and nestles softly against your cheek,

like a pillow.

The benefit of Adaleni Patti at the Opera House on Friday night was a complete success, pecuniarrly and artistically. She left for Liverpool yes-terday, via Kavana. Mr. Yancey, who is in poor health, will remain in the city a week longer before departing for Europe. Our Convention has not jet adjourned, but is likely to do so to-morrow; to-day, it is still busy with the bank question, discussing the mysteries of finance very learnedly and unintelligibly.

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

DRUNKEN REMARKS OF KEITT-ENGLAND AND SLAVERY-PATRIOTIC WOMEN-SLAVE PLOTS. From Our Own Correspondent.
CHARLESTON, March 28, 1861.

The Convention met again this morning at St. Andrews Hall. The belligerent members who were defeated yesterday determined to put up some peg on which to hang a speech, and the whole morning was consumed by the Spratt division in moving resolutions condemnatory of the Constitution adopted at Montgomery. Some of the old gentlemen besought them with tears in their eyes not to let it go forth that there was want of unanimity among them, but it was of no avail; they were determined to have their fling, even if the heavens fell. One of the resolutions was aimed at the anti-slave-trade provisions of the new Constitution. Notwithstanding the assurances of Rhett and of Keitt that they were only intended to be "fizzles," these members from St. Philip's and St. Michael's were determined to be straight upon the record, and so urged the passage of resolutions not only favoring the African slave-trade, but the adoption of the Coolie system immediately as necessitous and supplemental. They were outvoted, however-not on principle, but because the majority think their interests safe in the hands of their representatives, and that good reasons indeed must have been shown for silence on these subjects for the present, otherwise Rhett and Keitt could not have been induced to blink them at Montgomery. Keitt, who was a little tight again last night, got angry because a friend seemed to doubt his constancy to the doctrine of the free importation of ebony; he swears that one of the nearest and dearest objects of his life is to provide niggers, cheap and plenty, for his friends, "But," said he, "Bill Yancey would have looked like an ass had he gone to Europe with that stuck in the programme." Keitt says he'll guarantee that it's all right; Chesnut advised him very quietly not to talk so loudly, or they might as well discuss it in Convention; Keitt took the hint, and invited all hands, your correspondent included, to come up and take a "Palmetto cock-tail,

The Charleston Mercury has lighted upon another mare's nest; the other day it celebrated the French recognition of the South; now, after having searched through every English newspaper, and every debate in the House of Commons, and searched in vain for a friendly word, Gore's Commercial Advertiser, a paper that no body outside of cotton-brokers in England ever heard of, says that Great Britain will speedily recognize the Southern Confederacy, and wishes them god-speed. There is about as much truth in Gore's supposition as there was in a telegraph received by the Charleston papers a week ago, which stated that Lord Lyons had spoken privately in favor of the Southern Confederacy; this I happen to know to have hear a lie and a special of Gore you may place in the same category. My information on these matters I take the liberty of believing is superior to that of either Gore or The Mercury, and I have no hesitation in asserting that, in recognizing a new power, based upon the proscription of mankind on account of color, England, and, I trust, France, but certainly England, will require guaranties, not only with regard to the slavetrade, but which will entirely prevent any extention of the area which is to be desecrated by human bondage.

d-n ye."

The negroes here are in high feather at th continued occupation of Fort Sumter by Maj. Anderson; the poor creatures swear by him, and evidently imagine him to be possessed of some charm, which is working for their benefit. When not in attendance on the Chivalry, they chuckle and caper with delight "'cos Sumter ain't took." They have, I think, a firm belief that God and the right are on the side of the Major, and nobody can persuade them that it is possible to overcome him. There is a great deal of community of sentiment between the darkies and me upon this subject; I do not yet believe the evacuation of Fort Sumter to be a military necessity. The question of the Major's supplies is still in abeyance; meantime, he has the run of the market, such as it is.

A little circumstance came under my notice to day which goes to prove my assertions already published in THE TRIBUNE, namely: that there are plenty of Union men even in Charleston. A very respectable and industrious man, a native of Pennsylvania, and who resides within the sound of St. Michael's bells, has two intelligent daughters who were employed at the needle by a King street store; they were set to work the other day to manufacture some flags of the gim-crack Pro-Slavery Confederacy; the girls, with a nobleness which was alike creditable to their heads and hearts, positively refused to set a stitch in the treasonable bunting, and lost employment in consequence. They have, I am happy to say, been successful in obtaining work for some good and true friends of the Union.

I am in possession of information from the most direct sources that the leading politicians at Montgomery have received intimations that there is wide-spread and increasing diseatisfaction throughout Louisiana with the new Government, and that a strong Reconstruction party is in course of formation. The movement of Sam Houston in Texas also alarms them exceedingly. I only wish that old Sam, in the name of God and his country, backed by a couple of thousand strong arms, would march through Texas into Louisiana. He would be strengthened at every stage, and the irrepressible conflict would begin in earnest. I can promise him a thousand men from these districts who will gladly fight under the Stars and Stripes, if the war cry is to be Freedom, and the ultimatum, Civilization and Progress.

conversation, which I could not help bearng, at the Charleston Hotel last night, convinces me that the disaffection among the slaves is more general even than I had imagined. A member of the Convention, who comes from the District the ramifications of which extended for miles round, and in which the servants et some score of planters were concerned. The idea which sessed the slaves seems to have been that the moment the first gun was fired in Charleston Harbor, they should make a stampede, taking with them all the property they could lay their hands upon. The most pleasing part of the story—to the relator—seemed to be the remem-brance of the unmerciful whipping which he ordered to be administered to the men and women concerned in it. This is no singular case; information reaches me daily, which I do not intend to reveal, which proves beyond all doubt that the first gun fired against the United States Government will explede a powder magazine, the vaults of which extend beneath the feet of the whole South. Meantime, the whole attention of the Palmettoans seems to be centered in Charleston Harbor; a new battery is now in course of erection at Mount Pleasant, of the same character with those upon Morris Island, and will not stand the fire of Major Anderson's

TROUBLE AMONG THE REBELS. THE JEFF. DAVIS CONSTITUTION UNDER CON-SIDERATION.

From Our Special Correspondent.
CHARLESTON, S. C., March 29, 1861. You need not go very far below the surface to become convinced that there is a numerous party here who, in view of the objectionable features in the new Constitution, to wit: the suppression of the slave-trade, the tariff principle, and the permission of Free States to join the Confederacy, extertain the purpose of taking South Carolina out of the Jeff. Davis Confederacy, as they have taken her out of the Federal Union. These men are contending for principle, and they ought to have the credit of By seceding from the Union, they hoped and designed to establish a purely Slave Government of some sort. The Jeff. Davis Confederacy, though founded on the Slave idea, falls short of their notion, and those who led all the rest in the Secession movement do not now hesitate to say that, so far from abandoning the principle, they will pursue it till the State of South Carolina, at least, is planted square upon it. These are numerous indications of the purpose the leaders. It made its appearance in the State Convention yesterday, covertly, it is true, nevertheless unmistakably. Mr. Rhett introduced an ordinance ceding the possession of the forts stolen from the United States to the Jeff. Davis Confederacy-not absolutely, however, but on the condition that, when demanded by twothirds of the Legislature, or by the people in Convention, they shall be given back. The remarks by Mr. Rhett, in offering this ordinance, distinctly contemplated the operation of this proviso, and the Convention seemed to agree

The proceedings of the Convention have already developed a line of difference. There are now two parties among the Secessionists themselves. Thus, yesterday when Gov. Pickens sent in a communication, Mr. Rhett, who, as the head of one party, has all along opposed the policy of the Governor, declared that he thought the Message was not a proper one, and opposed

The Governor indulged in a fair amount of self-glorification by referring to the fact that when he took the office everything was is imminent peril, whereas now the State was in the possession of forts, argenals, and other Federal property without bloodshad and pursued. On the contrary, Mr. Rhett was of the opinion that the continued possession of Fort Sumter by the Federal troops was a disgrace, and good ground for censuring Gov. Pickens. Things are not jolly by a good deal.

The Jeff. Davis Constitution will not be adopted without a struggle, which will be principally in "secret [session," [where everything relating to the subject has been consigned in advance. The principal objections to the instrument are embodied in the following resolutions

Resolved. That in the Constitution adopted by the Congress of the Confederate States at Montgomery, many but not all of the material defects of the Constitution of 1787, pointed out by the experience of seventy years, have been amended but not re-

the Conteners States at an angular to the contentration of first, pointed out by the experience of seventy years, have been amended but not removed.

Resolved. That before the Convention ratifies the Constitution adopted at Montgomery, we feel bound to express our conviction that it is imperfect and objectionable, and ought to be amended in the following points: First: In leaving open the door for the admission of non-Siaveholding States inte this Confederacy. Second: In adopting the basis of only three fit has of the slaves estitled to Federal representation. Third: In granting to the Government of the Confederacy an onlimited power of indirect texture. Fourth: In making the prohibition to import Africans a constitutional prohibition, and not simply giving to the Federal Government the power to prohibit it as a matter of expediency, and in not putting the Confederacy on the same footing. Fifth: In putting the Post-Goode unoughly in the hands of the Confederacte Government.

Another bill of objections, embracing an amendment, after an irritated discussion, was voted down by a vote of 60 Yeas to 94 Nays. The large minority vote proves that Major Manigault's resolutions will stand a good chance of being adopted.

During the session yesterday, Mr. Wardlaw offered a resolution censuring, as "an audacious and dangerous usurpation," the action of the delegates of South Carolina in concurring in the election of Jeff. Davis and Alex. Stephens, President and Vice-President, and proposing to recall said delegates, and to send others in their stead. The Convention refused to entertain the subject. You will readily understand that the " muss" is becoming quite general.

The \$600,000 loan, for which this State has been in market for nearly three months, remains untaken. This loan was authorized to raise money for arming the State, and earnest appeals have been put forth, though without effect. The money has been anticipated and debts contracted on the strength of the expectation of its being taken at an early day. Creditors want their pay; there is no money to pay them, and nobody seems to be willing to lend the State a red cent. This is the immediate and legitimate result of Secession-State and individual bankruptcy.

The work on the fortifications in the harbo will be finished this week, and so far as South Carolina is concerned there will be nothing but the considerations of prudence and policy to longer postpone operations on Fort Sumter. The uneasiness felt on account of what is regarded as the mysterious delay at Washington, is very great, and increases daily. If the reports that are affoat are true, this unensiness is shared at the Fort, though of course not in the same light. Col. Lamon's visit was a mystery to the Rebels. That gentleman though he may not have fully realized the fact, was the object of very special attentions. Not a movement or word of his was suffered to go unobserved. Everything was noted and reported at headquarters, bearing on the object of his movements. My particular

big thing." The fact that the Colonel registered himself as from Virginia, and, as was contended, attempted a disguise, occasioned much specula tion, and lent mystery to his visit. In spite of everything, many believe that there is a grand game going on to reënforce Major Anderson and blow Jeff. Davis sky high.

THE CONVENTION AGAIN.

CHARLESTON, March 29, 1861.

After closing my letter yesterday I again strolled into the Convention. I know not whether my friend the Deputy-Doorkeeper imagines me to be a member of the body, but he certainly his each day been most polite, in giving me a seat upon the floor of the house. The principal Doorkeeper is the inevitable Shoeboe, who has been immortalized by Mrs. Bottsford, as well as by one of my colleagues here. This character deserves special notice. A more obscene looking lump of vulgarity and low breeding it would be difficult to find. His habits are irrevocably samped upon his physiognomy, his face being bloated and covered with the blossoms of bad whisky. He is said to have saved some money, nost of which has been derived from his occupaton of common informer. Many a poor German has been fined and imprisoned for giving a negro a drink, through this man Shoeboe. He is what you may safely denominate a beastly specimen o' humanity, just the sort of man who makes you anxious to deny the unity of the race. I ought, perhaps, to speak more kindly of

Shoeboe; for, although he is the special agent of the Vigilance Committee, and their most steaking and abject tool, he has not, to this date, troubled me, and I have no reason to believe be even knows me. A prolonged residence in Charleston, in years gone by, may have so identified me with the people, that I should scarcely be detected as a stranger; but, from what I hear, poor Shoeboe has been sadly exercised about THE TRIBUNE correspondent. No end of dollars have been promised him at headquarters if he can discover the rascal's whereabotts. So anxious has he been to make the arrest, that not less than half a dozen poor unfortunates, who are as in-nocent as new-born babes have been frightened half to death by the redoubtable Shoebee. I cannot refrain from expressing my deep sorrew that innocent men should have re ceived so much annoyance on my account. But the interests of truth and justice, however, still require my presence in Charleston, and I cannot think of making a move at present. When I leave, however, I will apprise the Vigilance Committee minute men, and Shoeboe of my intention. I now recur to the proceedings of the Convertion. One of the most amusing and at the same time disgusting exhibitions it has been my misfortune to witness for some time took place about half-past 2. Mr. Chancellor Wardlaw rose, and with the assistance of a chair stood on his legs. He begged (hiccup) to move (hiccup) the following (hiccup) resoluo-oo-oo-tions:

cup) the following (hiccup) resoluo-oc-oc-tions:

"Recolved. That the action of the delegates of South Carolina, in the Scathern Congress, in concurring in the election of President and Vice-President of the Provisional—biccup—dovernments, and in assuming to themselves permanent legislative power, and tempory encountre—biccup—power, was an anidacious and sangerous usurpation of power not conferred by this Convention, and of the worst consequence, in the insuguration of a government, instituted on account of like—biccup—accurpation on the part of our late confederates.

"Recolved. That while from motives of harmony and—hiccup—policy, we staily and confirm the action of this Southern Congress, we feel bound to causure our delegates.

"Secolved. That we recall our delegates to Montgamery, and immediately proceed to the election of two delegates at large from the State, and one delegate from each Congressional District."

Now, although there may be a great deal of good sense in the principle contained in these resolutions, yet the absurd working or toem, and the certain fact that no man present, the Chancellor not excepted, sympathized with them, did, as you may imagine, create great consternation. Half a dozen men, headed by Rhett, called immediately for the yeas and nays. They were ordered; everybody said No; the teller called D. F. Wardlaw at last, but the Aye was not forthcoming, even there. All eyes were turned toward the Chancellor, but nature had given way. He was asleep in his chair. Some men are easily overcome, "if they drink early." Judge Wardlaw appeared to be boiling over with rage, he out of the hall. The Judge is the Chancellor's brother. The Convention, immediately after this scene, adjourned.

The telegraph has to-day brought a rigmarole account of Mr. Lamon's opinions about Fort Sumter. As nobody can understand it, few remarks were excited. A second telegraph has, however, set all Charleston by the ears. It an nounces that Mr. Harvey, a Charlestonian, but lately a resident of Washington, has accepted the mission to Portugal. To this is added the information that Mr. Harvey will visit Charleston before proceeding to Lisbon. My sincere and friendly advice to him is to come incog. if he comes at all, for I have already heard a score of men propose to lynch him, tar and feather him, and hang him. I can, however, assure him, at the same time, that these imprecations procede, to a great extent, from jealousy. Charlestonians were bowled out at Montgomery, and there are a hundred hungry politicians here who would gladly accompany Mr. Harvey in the position of messenger, or even as valet. In looking over the list of Republicans and Union men resident in Charleston, and which have been furnished me by my friends, I find that on the south side of one of the streets leading from Meeting to the wharves, and on which there are sixty-five houses, only three out of the number are occupied by men who have the slightest sympathy either with Secession or the Slave system. I'wo policemen residing in this neighborhood have been discharged within the last few weeks for no other reason than that they were discovered conversing with an old shoemaker who is a known

That same old floating battery is still in the river, but now lies by the United States property on which the new Custom-House is built. A man who ought to know, says that no rent has been paid for the wharf by which it was so long moored, and that the owner ordered it off his

I was much astonished, last night, while engaged in a conversation with some up-country planters, to observe the earnestness with which they contended for the justice of the measure, the benefits to be derived from partial reopening of the slave-trade. Those who have had free intercourse with the civilization of the world for twenty years would scarcely credit the existence of such men as I could point out in Charleston to-day; advocates, not only of a system of labor which the whole genius of the century has logically condemned but who uphold the opening of a trade which the system. Remove your hat and close your of Prince George, was relating to a friend cirfriend Shueboe was particularly attentive, in his is piracy against the general peace, and its strong current strokes your brow cumstances of a plot which he had discovered, way, and doubtless thought he was piping a lof the civilized world; a trade degrading to the

lowest order of humanity, and which raises a blush upon the cheek of every honest man.

FROM MARYLAND.

POLITICAL BUBBLINGS-UP.

From Our Own Correspondent BALTIMORE, March 30, 1861. The professional Bell-ringers of this city are getting uneasy. The terrible clangor they have kept up for a month past, in order to terrify the President into giving them the Federal offices, have suddenly ceased on finding that Mr. Lincoln is not going to be humbugged into any such scheme. And they are now turning their attention to politics for the Fall campaign, to see whether they cannot get the State Government back into their clutches.

Accordingly, the leading Bell-ringers have been hard at work burying the sundry hatchets for the last few days. Winter Davis and Morrison Harris, the red and white roses of the ancient Know-Nothing party, have been reconciled and the faithful of these liegemen have also been smoking the pipe of peace. The office of Mr. Davis has been of the center of attraction of the politicians of the Bell-ringing school; missives are daily dispatched to them in different parts of the State, urging their immediate presence in town to receive instructions, and the prospect now is that we shall soon see the assembling of a State Convention of Bell-ringers, say about the 1st of May.

But there may be some serious hitches in carrying out these plans, and in view of their proving fatal the whisper has already gone out that Winter Davis and Morrison Harris will run in the IIId and IVth Districts, on their own hooks, as independent Bell-ringers, in the hope of ringing in sufficient outsiders to secure their election, but the hope is a vain one. They will find "it can't be did," try it when they will.

If the Bell-ringers should prove successful (a impossibility, in my judgment) in persuading the Administration to confide to them the Federal offices in this city, the result would inevitably be that the Democratic party will carry this city by 5,000 majority, at the least. If, on the contrary, the Administration adheres strictly to Republican nominations among us, as I have reason to believe it will, the Bell-ringers will be extinguished, and two members of Congress, at least, be returned whose fidelity to the Union will be unquestioned, and who will stand by the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was.

Gov. Andy Johnson says that he found the hearts of the old Democratic and ancient Whigh masses of Frederick City, during his late speech in that town, in the right place. The meeting listened to him uninterruptedly for two hours and more, and when he had done the farmers crowded round him and gave him their hardfisted hands in token of their approbation of his old Jackson doctrines.

The Secessionists confess themselves whipped out in this State, since their last attempt to tie us to the tail of the old Virginia rattle-trap cart, and these are quiet at last. Before the Summer opens, I think, they will have dodged this question entirely, the Democratic ranks will have been closed up, and we shall see them going forward for the Fall campaign, under the Stars and Stripes, upon the new issue of representation based on population. As the Republicans of the State hold to this doctrine, the sympathies of the two parties may work together for good, to keep the State Government out of the grasp of the rump of the old Knewinto a company of professional Bell-ringers.

I learn from reliable sources that the uncon ditional Union feeling in Virginia is stronger by 20,000 to-day than on the 4th of February last, and the true friends of the Union were anxious that the Convention should pass an Ordinance of Secession, and let it go before the people. The result would have buried the rebels so deeply, that no political resurrection-trump could have ever awakened them. But the rebels were too cunning. They will adopt the majority report, which, you will observe, is more offensive than Jeff Davis Constitution.

MISCELLANEOUS.

HOROSCOPE OF FUTURE NATIONALITY-POLICY CALLED FOR IN THE PRESENT EMERGENCY.

EMERGENCY.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: In military strategy, it is the test of a great
General, to know the key of his position. So in civil affairs when great difficulties are involved, it is a test of statesmanship to know how far to use coercion or when to yield. Napoleon might as well have persisted in remaining at Dresden in 1813, after all his collateral positions had been occupied by the enemy, as the Gov ernment of this country to maintain a claim of jurisdic-tion over seceding States, which it cannot or dare not

It is my purpose to discuss plainly the present aspect of affairs with reference to the question of what should be the policy of the new Administration. I have no partiality for that kind of wisdom that seeks to vail itself in obscurity-on the contrary, I believe that what is best suited to the genius of our people, is an open publicly avowed policy. Mistakes may indeed be made, but there is a popular generosity peculiar to this country. Mistakes, if Lonest, are easily forgiven. And even if I misjudge in this, another proposition will not be doubted, viz: that it is the part of a great and patriotic mind to take the risk of misconstruction, and if need be, even of the loss of popularity, in maintaining a policy essential to public welfare. Nearly four weeks have elapsed since the Republican party cam into power. The 4th of March had long been looked forward to in the dark lays of Mr. Buchanan's Admin isiration, as the cynosure that should guide the wan-

dering ship of State back to its true bearing.

Business operations were suspended till a new Ad ministration should come in. The enterprise of the entire North was held in abeyance—awaiting in breath-less anxiety the demonstration that should be made by the President of its choice for the relief of the country from the unprecedented embarrassments with which i

was oppressed.

Let us now look at the course of policy which has been inaugurated, and see how far it has fulfilled the just expectations which had been entertained.

The first question, and paramount in importance to all others, was how to harmonize the conflicting elements of our late nationality. The alternative was either to take the ground that there had been no lawful separation by the seceding States, and to use the whole power of the Federal Government to subdue the insurrectionary force, or to recognize the separation to be past recall, and then to enter at once upon arrangements with the new Confederacy for the purpose of establishing a favorable commercial intercourse which would allay the disaster that has fallen upon our mercantil

We have waited in patient expectation for some indi cation as to which course of policy would be adopted.
This expectation has been transmuted into a painful anxiety, and finally into a diseatisfaction which will soon find expression, at the mysterious silence and inaction of the new Administration.

policy was being acted upon, which it will not do to expose to the public. I am incredulous as to any such hypothetical assumption. It is my belief that an intelligent people, such as be have in the Northern States, may be safely intrusted with the knowledge of the general course of policy which the President and his Cabinet may deem it expedient to adopt. At all events, I am sure that no such pretension to extraordinary sagacity will be admitted as a reason for a subtervanean or concealed action by the Administration. I have often, since the 4th of March, brought before my were now living and had control of our nation Can it be doubted that he would, in the very incept of his executive power, have appealed to whatever there is of noble and patriotic feeling both at the North and South, for a reconciliation of alienated feeling in the different sections of the country; or if that should not be available to bring back those who have abjured the old nationality, then to secure amicable relations

Can there be a doubt that such an appeal as we might suppose would have emanated from his exalted patriotism would have reached the heart of the country and if it should not have brought back our Bo brethren, would at least have inducted a fraternal rela tion for the mutual advantage of the two sections of country, in place of the belligerent spirit which now

with them for the mutual advantage of both sections.

actuates at least the Southern portion.

Let this hypothical test be now applied to the course pursued by the present Administration. What appeal has been made to the pride and the honor of the American people North or South. The Inaugural address of President Lincoln can at most only be regarded as the expression of his individual opinions, formed withou official information—but of course to be understood as anbject to the advice which he should receive from

cabinet constituted of able and experienced men.

Although I aided as far as I had the power in the election of Mr. Lincoln, I am not so far a partisan as to give indiscriminate support to his Administration with-out regard to its consistency. On the contrary, I claim the right of independent judgment upon his acts, and in this I have no doubt that a large proportion of the

Northern people will concur with me.

If the question is now asked, what is the policy the Administration? what answer can be made? know of nothing except what is to be inferred from its entire omission to do anything or announce anything intended to be done. Our forts remain unrednforced, the frontier of Texas is left undefended, and the United States forces which were stationed there are to be brought home. The revenue is not collected at any o the ports of the Seceding States, and no recla

is made of the funds or property seized by the Secoders.

It is a fair conclusion that all this betokens an arricable arrangement to be made with the Secoders, and I will not undertake to say that it may not be expe What I do maintain is, that there is no occasion for any mystery or disguise. I believe that the whole country is prepared for the adoption of an open, honest and per triotic policy, and would readily adopt any sound rea sons for a pacific course. But it will be found utterly fallacious if it has been supposed that the intelligent people of the North are to take for granted that all the isdom of the country has been vested in the member of the new Cabinet.

A significant circumstance may be noticed, that while the great question which is agitating the country habeen so deliberately considered that nothing whatever has been determined respecting it, there has surprizing activity in respect to appointments to office.

It is not my purpose to puss any judgment upon those appointments—all that I mean now to call public attention to is that thus far the President and his Cabinet. seem to have been wholly engrossed with them.

Perhaps I err in supposing the contest which has been going on at Washington between certain political leaders for the preferment of their respective adherents and the disproportionate time given by the Adminis-tration to their claims was indecorous in the present

state of public affairs.

I cannot help thinking, however, that at this alarming crisis, when every day has been pregnant with important consequences—when our whole political fabria has been rocking to its very foundation—and the hope of the country has been concentrated upon those who have been called to the charge of public affairs—there was about as much congruity in this controversy for political patronage, as there was in the performa Nero on the roof of his palace while the city was in

Lest I should be thought disingenuous, I will here oncede that some of the appointments were of pressing importance—among them was that of Marshal of the Southern District of New-York, which, however, was but recently made. We needed also a proper rep resentation in some of the courts of Europe and in Mexico. It may be doubted, however, whether it was necessary to supersede the entire diplomatic corps in foreign countries before attending to the agitated condition of thinge in our own country. May it not also inferred that the benefit of the country was hardly the sole consideration when we see appointments made of Ministers, with their own sons as Secretaries, neither of whom have a knowledge of the language of the coun try to whom they are sent?

Formerly, there was a modesty in this particular, which was worthy of imitation, and I regret to see any countenance given to the new practice by the example of important members of the Cabinet.

Passing from this general view of the aspect of our affairs, I shall proceed to some considerations bearing upon our public policy, which may be found of some

What the intention of the President and his adviser may be I do not undertake to prognosticate, as nothin has transpired except the fact that the Southern Cou missioners (as reported) came out from a private audience with the Secretary of State in a highly exult

It may be reasonably supposed that the Soc could with propriety give to the public his views, which seem to be so satisfactory to these Commission ers. Of one thing I am certain, that the intelligence and restless activity of our people cannot be dealt with in the month that is usual with the Ministry of England

In a country where men are often raised from humble sitions to the highest offices of the government, ould be too much to expect that the entire commi is to submit blindly to any course of policy involving great commercial interests without at least having

some explanation of the reasons inducing such policy. It has been often said, and I fear there is too me cause to concur in the truth of the remark, that no decided policy has as yet been adopted. It would seem that we are left to drift along at the hazard of all the counter currents or tempests that we may meet

I can conceive of no course more perilous than this Nothing will more surely destroy the confidence of an intelligent people. But it may serve to prove what I have before predicted, that the country is not likely to

be saved by its representatives in public office. The race of men who constructed the Constitution of 1789 have not left successors adequate to fill theh places. The voluntary action of a great and intellige people is all that we can rely upon. It is the test of a great man that he has forecaste of the future, and is

willing to incur risks in carrying out a policy which will accomplish an ultimate good, although it may be attended with a temporary loss of popularity.

Undoubtedly we have sagacious politicians, but actually we have sagacious politicians, but actually with the actual with the American Revolution:

"They have a sagacity adapted to ordinary occasions," but when the high roads are broken up and the water than a page and troubled scene is opened and out-when a new and troubled scene is opened and the file affords no precedent—then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind and a more comprehensive knowledge of things is requisite than office ever gave

or ever can give. Believing, as I do, that the policy of the present inaction of the new Administration.

I have heard it often suggested that some profound by developed in the concession of all the forts and published.